FREE SOCIETY

ENTERED AT SAN FRANCISCO POSTOFFICE AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER.

An Exponent of Anarchist-Communism: Holding that Equality of Opportunity alone Constitutes Liberty; that in the Absence of Monopoly Price and Competition Cannot Exist; and that Communism is an Inevitable Consequence.

VOL. VI. NO. 48 SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., SUNDAY, OCTOBER 14, 1900. WHOLE NO. 288.

THREE EASY STEPS DOWN HILL.

"We're jingoes." How they love the flag!
And here's a jingo song:
"That flag is right in any fight;
Our country, right or wrong."

"We're partisans." They're lower still,
And here's the party song:
"When at the polls, you have no souls;
Our party, right or wrong."

"We're boodlers." Down another step,
And here's the boodler's song:
"We take no bluff: we want the stuff;
Our pockets, right or wrong."

James J. Dooling.

THE CASE FOR FREE CONSUMPTION.

In a recent issue of Free Society, Franklin Strawn Hamilton maintains that the Anarchist Communist theory of distribution is opposed to sound economic principles. His main contention is that demand must always outrun supply; and that, therefore, value in exchange must remain an economic fact; the only alternative being "a regulated distribution by a supreme authority." Mr. Hamilton, although a Socialist, distinctly rejects the Marxian theory of value, and bases his conception of value on utility, or the relation of supply and demand, regardless of the labor power expended. He also differs from most Socialists, in upholding "the Malthusian doctrine of continual pressure of population against the means of existence."

Mr. Hamilton is slightly inaccurate, in stating that "Socialists and Anarchists have made too little" of Malthusianism. In point of fact, we reject it altogether. Some of the grounds for so doing may be found in Bebel's work on "Woman," and in Kropotkin's "Fields, Factories, and Workshops," to name only two important works. The fear of over-population no longer plays an important part in modern sociology. *Every man brings two hands into the world, and only one mouth.* Misery and slavery are everywhere found to be the cause, not the result, of reckless and excessive breeding. There are excellent scientific reasons for this fact, which is thoroughly borne out by the study of human society.

Anarchist Communism is based on a study of human nature. Man is something more than a machine for cutting cloth and digging potatoes. The satisfaction of his material wants is but a small part of the expression of his being. It is indeed primary and fundamental, but only as the necessary means to an end. The foundation is the most necessary part of a house; but nobody wishes to live in the cellar all his life. Our real interests, our sympathies, the expression of our decorative instincts, and our affections, are reserved for the rooms in which we are to live. The foundation supports us; and we are glad that it is there; but the thought of our lives is in no degree centred upon it. The great error of Socialists, as well as of bourgeois political economy, lies in assuming that man is always to spend his life in the cellar. It forgets that man is man, and merely regards him in one of his relations, that of an economical factor. It takes for granted that the normal man is governed only by the ideals of commercialism; that his fundamental aspiration is to buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest.

Anarchist Communism recognizes the whole of man, in all his relations with his fellows. It realizes that labor is not, under normal conditions, a curse, only endurable by being reduced to a minimum. The true artist knows the "joy of working." In a free society, in the absence of monopoly, exploitation, and commercialism, every worker would be an artist. In place of a petty and immediate recompense for each isolated act, he would be a sharer in all the boundless social and industrial advantages to be found in a world of co-operating brethren. Where there is abundance for all, greed, envy, and suspicion vanish. Each man becomes ambitious, by the natural reflex influence of the situation, to excel in the manner and degree of his contribution to the social wealth. The pride and joy of creation become dominant psychological factors, replacing the indolence and inclination to shirk, so characteristic of our own day, when the most diligent producers are most effectively robbed of the product of their own labor.

It is clear that this new race of human beings, which the new environment must inevitably produce, will have no use for bourgeois economy, or for the semi-bourgeois economy of authoritarian Socialism. William Morris, who tried to be a State Socialist, but was at heart an Anarchist Communist, catches a glimpse of the reality in his "News from Nowhere," a distinctly Anarchist picture, in which he represents men to whom labor has become a passion, and who cannot understand how it could ever have been regarded as a burden. They are even a little anxious, lest their zeal for production shall outrun the needs of the race, but manage to find an outlet for their superfluous energy in a greatly stimulated inventive faculty, and in great works of engineering and of art. With such a people, the conception of "value in exchange" absolutely disappears.

When natural opportunities become free, the joy of creation replaces the economic struggle of today. When labor becomes a joy, higgling over exchange values becomes ridiculous. Bourgeois and Socialist economics alike are founded on the conception that labor is a curse, which it is the object of existence to avoid as far as possible. When the converse is accepted, not a shred of Ricardo or Marx is left. Psychology underlies economics, a simple fact, to which State Socialists pay no attention. Given liberty, self-interest induces Communism; given Communism, self-interest perpetuates liberty; given both, the desire to produce becomes spontaneous. When labor comes to its own, the spirit of the artist replaces that of the drudge. The ideal is not only beautiful, but thoroughly practical, because in strict accordance with real human nature.

James F. Morton, Jr.

CIVILIZATION'S MAD REVEL.

A SICKENING CHRONICLE OF RAPINE, RAPE AND MURDER.

William E. Johnson, of the Chicago Voice, has gone through the files of the Manila Freedom for the period extending from June 13, 1899, to October 1, 1899, three and a half months, and has made an abstract of the crimes and outrages chronicled by that paper for that time. Freedom is the administration organ in Manila, and defends the military regime there through thick and thin. The period covered was at a time when the troops were in full control in Manila and the suburbs, and was the beginning of what Republican orators call "the great work of civilizing the natives." The Star has not room for the long list of drunken carousals culminating in arrest, nor for the other minor crimes. The following from such a source as Freedom are too eloquent, however, in their description of the reign of terror we have been and are creating, to be overlooked:

June 13.—A mob of soldiers raided a cock fight at Paco, a suburb of Manila. The Americans began shooting miscellaneously, killing one native and wounding several others. It was a peaceable gathering, and several American officers were taking part in the sport.

July.—Corporal Chapman, of Battery M, Sixth Artillery, shot and severely wounded Private Samuels of Company M, Twentieth Infantry, during a drunken row. Chapman was on an ugly drunk, and was abusing some natives. One of the Filipinos properly remarked, "Americano mucho bum bum." This aroused the wrath of the reformer, who drew his revolver and began shooting. He was too drunk to shoot straight, and the bullet struck Samuels, who was standing by. Chapman was arrested.

July 23.—A gang of drunken soldiers took possession of the San Miguel beer hall on the Escolta. A field fight was soon in progress. The crazed soldiers were smashing furniture and flourishing revolvers when Robert Wallen, a guard of Company I, Twentieth Infantry, attempted to restore order. Thereupon, the drunken soldiers set upon him. One hit him over the head with a chair. Wallen finally fired in self-defence. Instead of hitting any of the rioters, the ball plowed its way through the heart of Corporal McGuire, who was drinking beer at a table, but not actually engaged in the brawl.

July 29.—Six drunken American soldiers entered the home of a respectable native on Calle Cervantes. They proceeded to terrorize the occupants, broke open trunks, and helped themselves to whatever was wanted. They next entered the home of another nearby native, Rufino Sanchez, forcing their way at the point of a revolver. After helping themselves to whatever they wished, two of the "civilizers" held the struggling husband by force while the others ravished the screaming wife before his eyes. When the aged mother of the woman began to plead for mercy, her pleadings were silenced by one of the soldiers who knocked her down with the butt of his revolver. The little children had fled shrieking from the house and notified the neighbors. When the police arrived, all of the soldiers had fled save one. This one lay on the floor in a drunken slumber. Later, three more of the assailants were captured. It was one of the most realistic lessons in "benevolent assimilation" that the natives of this neighborhood have yet had.

August 1.—This issue of the paper contains a column story, telling of the customs among American officers, both married and unmarried, of making love to Spanish girls, promising to marry them, and then abandoning them with the usual results.

August 5.—Captain J. D. O'Brien, of Company D, Wyoming Volunteers, married a mestizo girl at Cavite. He lived with her for about a month, and then deserted her, leaving on the transport Grant. The heartbroken girl later learned that her officer husband had a wife and family in the States. That was her first lesson in American civilization.

September 2.—A drunken soldier named Converse, who belonged to the Commissary Department, entered the American Eagle saloon, on the Plaza de Moraga, drew his revolver, and demanded that the place be closed at once. The frightened bartender ran one way; and Converse fled the other. Guards finally overtook him, and put him in the calaboose to cool off a while, before renewing his work of teaching the natives how to govern themselves. On the same day, a soldier of the Twenty Fourth Infantry rode from saloon to saloon in a camarata for a while. He finally became crazed by the bogus liquors provided by the trust created by the military authorities, and began shooting off his revolver on the crowded Bridge of Spain.

September 10.—Corporal Damhoffer and Private Connel, of Company C, Sixteenth Infantry, started out to civilize the Tondo district. In pursuance of the great work, they robbed the house of a native and ravished three native women. One of these victims was an old lady sixty years of age. These two expansionists were convicted of the crime, and sentence of death pronounced. This sentence was later commuted by the president on the ground that it was "excessive." —San Francisco Star.

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Anarchy.—A social theory which regards the union of order with the absence of all direct government of man by man as the political ideal; absolute individual liberty.—Century Dictionary.

NOTES.

Comrade Emma Goldman writes that she will arrive in New York by the middle of November. She is prepared to make a lecture tour, spending about two months in the Eastern States, and then coming west. Comrades in New York, New England, New Jersey, and neighboring places will do well to write at once. Address her care of Justus Schwab, 50 First St., New York, N. Y.

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I am sorry to see that a few who have been considered Anarchists are mingling in the political arena. There is no more effective method of giving the lie to their principles.

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CURRENT NEWS.

The move from the City Hall to the Hall of Justice is the smallest part of the change which the week will mark in the Police Department. Chief Sullivan thinks a general shuffling in the routine of affairs is the proper thing. So there will be a new order in a day or two. It will rearrange all the beats. Policemen will be transferred from the streets where they have walked the curb so long that they can recognize every foot of the space. They are entirely too well acquainted, the chief thinks, and he believes they will all do better among strangers.—San Francisco Examiner.

These men, whom their chief cannot trust, are our masters. The arbitrary power of the police is a peculiar governmental monstrosity, to which we submit with all tameness, merely because we are accustomed to it.

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The French and Russian governments have evolved a lovely scheme for keeping China in perpetual servitude. They propose to prohibit all importation of arms and munitions of war into China, since she has had the audacity to resent European aggression. Leave her incapable of defending herself; and it will then be possible to commit any outrage on her with impunity. The proposition is worthy of its source.

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In Italy, over 3000 persons have already been arrested, on account of their alleged approval of Bresci's act. Since the police could by no means have raked up so many Italian Anarchists, it follows that, outside of the Anarchist movement, there is a far more widespread hatred of the Italian monarchy than the papers would have us believe. This fact also shows the strange infatuation of the Italian government, whose persistence in so unnecessary acts of tyranny and cruelty is calculated to arouse a spirit of revenge. The new king does not bear a charmed life. When will governments learn that persecution is the mother of violence?

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The voters of Great Britain have shown themselves to be a mass of dastardly slaves. They have gone crazy over jingoism, and elected an immense Conservative majority to Parliament. Chamberlain's villainy and the unspeakable crimes in South Africa have received the hearty endorsement of the English people. The decent element was altogether routed at the polls. Such is the stuff that voters are made of. It is good to be an Anarchist, and to have no part or lot in the work of such canaille.

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In Berlin, a man was recently arrested for saying that it made no difference to him whether it was a king or an old washerwoman who was murdered. He was mistaken; for there is a decided difference. A washerwoman is of some use to the world.

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Ex-Governor Pattison of Pennsylvania has just returned from a personal visit to Porto Rico, and brings back a report of conditions there, which more than confirms the worst stories put into circulation. The beautiful island is today in a far worse condition, than under centuries of Spanish misrule. The people are misgoverned, starved, and robbed on every hand. Surrounded by fertility and abundance, they are driven to destitution, and slowly murdered. It is not nature, but capitalism, that is guilty of all this foulness. The American government is the giant criminal; and none who uphold it can be acquitted of a share in the responsibility.

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The coal strike still continues, although an early settlement seems probable. The concessions thus far announced are certainly not what the men ought to demand, and have a right to expect; and the guarantee for the future is by no means satisfactory. The men remain peaceable, although rights on the public highway are constantly interferred with, in the most brutal and outrageous manner. The law and the soldiers are always against the workingman.

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No worse insult was ever offered to the working classes of this country than that contained in the assumption that a full dinner-pail represents the full measure of their needs. The dinner-pail, full or empty, is a badge of degradation, and no fit emblem for the creators of the wealth of the land.

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DISCORDS.

Leaving C. F. Hunt to the undisturbed possession of his primacy in the realm of vituperation, I see nothing in his latest pronouncement, which does not recoil on himself. It is the governmentalist, who would make liberty "a chunk of something," which can be divided and apportioned by the legerdemain of the ballot. It is precisely because "conditions which satisfy one person would be irksome and tyrannical to another," that Anarchists do not propo e to lay down rules, by which everybody must be bound.

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George E. Macdonald of The Truth Seeker regards an attempt to exercise the right of free speech in Chicago as parallel with the folly of him who waves a red rag at a bull. It is certainly true that the average bull would feel grossly insulted, if informed that he had been compared with the Chicago police. Nevertheless, it does not become a "Liberal" paper to censure those who simply stand up for their rights. "Too officious" is a mild term to apply to the police ruffians, whose multifarious duties surely do not include an enforcement of the canons of good taste. In po nt of fact, however, there was neither "bad taste" nor "foolishness" about the matter. A time when Anarchists are being slandered and misrepresented on every hand is surely the time in which it is most fitting that their exact position should be made known as widely as possible. To remain silent, and to allow the public mind to become saturated with false conceptions of Anarchy, would have been both cowardice and "foolishness."

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Another secretary of Aguinaldo is said to have landed at New York, "on a mission" for the rebel chieftain. Lest he should prove to be a second Agoncillo, it might be well enough to lock him up to keep him out of mischief, until his chief surrenders.—San Francisco Chronicle.

The trouble with Agoncillo was that he told a number of plain truths, which were unpalatable to the maladministration, and to its unprincipled organs, such as the Chronicle. Although this is sometimes facetiously termed "a free country," it will not do to allow a Filipino to plead for the rights of his people. Therefore—"lock him up." To be sure, he has committed no crime, for which even a governmentalist could justify depriving him of his liberty; but a little thing like that never troubles the organs of the present maladministration. Respect for human rights is an obsolete superstition.

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The Literary Digest, which is usually very accurate in its facts, has "not been able to find anything but mere rumor in support of the assertion" that American troops did any looting in China. The Digest should wake up, if its utterance was really dictated by ignorance, and not by jingoism. A recent transport which arrived in San Francisco contained 154 boxes of stolen goods, taken from Chinese houses and temples. The Digest can readily obtain the proof of this, if it is really willing to tell the truth about American soldiers.

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The current issue of Judge asks: "Who is behind Aguinaldo, the fiend who has killed so many American soldiers?" This is the ethics of the maladministration. A man is a "fiend" who defends the liberties of his people. A horde of invading ruffians, who go to destroy liberty, are "heroes." The only trouble with Aguinaldo is that he has not killed enough "American soldiers." In the name of justice, may he persist, until every invader is driven from the islands.

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Miss Douw, a wealthy missionary, whose home is in Albany, N. Y., but who has spent the past thirty years in Peking, maintaining there at her own expense three mission homes, was among the refugees on the Coptic.

"There is no use talking settlement," the lady said, "until we have the heads of Prince Tuan and of the empress dowager. It is foolish to think of honest peace while they are living. In my judgment, they should be beheaded, before negotiations for peace are entered into. That is all I have to say about the Chinese troubles in Peking."—San Francisco Examiner.

These examples of "applied Chri tianity" are multiplying with alarming rapidity. A holy thirst for blood seems to be a leading characteristic with many latter-day followers of the Nazarene. Teach the heathen the lesson of barbaric revenge; and then expect him to appreciate the superior beauty of "Christian civilization!" This "wealthy missionary" would be a welcome participant in the counsels of Wilhelm the Mad, of "kill all, spare none," notoriety.

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So Ella Wheeler Wilcox holds that "the highest ideal possible of the family is where the husband and father is the head." She could not have more clearly pronounced herself on the side of reaction. She assumes that one or the other in a family must be subordinate, and declares that this should usually be the woman. She cannot escape from the idea that a boss is needed. This is the marriage ideal of a woman considerably more progressive than the average. It is also the legal conception of marriage. Is it a wonder that lovers of liberty repudiate a system which bears such fruits of subjection?

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When George Macdonald admonishes Mr. Clodd against certain grammatical lapses, why does he, in the same breath, prescribe to him a form which includes the use of two split infinitives?

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LABOR FAKIRS.

Labor Day at Kansas City was a swell affair. We are told that Heaven smiled that day, in order to give the sons of toil a taste of pleasure; and that "thousands of happy men, women and children forgot the toil that was, and is to be, or if they thought of it, gloried in it." The "perfect day" was a token from the Almighty of "encouragement and approval of the men who so faithfully follow the injunction 'In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat thy bread.'"

It may not be out of place to mention that this view, as regards the cause of the heavenly state of the weather on that particular day, emanated, not from the sons of toil or the Almighty, but from the reporters, who had been given plenty of rope by their m sters, in order to weave a tale that would blind and amuse the workers. It is highly necessary that the laborers receive a little skillful flattery; and what day is so handy as Labor Day, when you catch the workers in a listening mood?

This, I suppose, is what led A. M. Dockery and Joseph Flory, the respective candidates for governor of Missouri on the Democratic and Republican tickets, to address the people that day, and lay before them the reasons why each was entitled to the unlimited confidence of the labor unions and the people at large.

Flory stated that the Republican Party had been kept from office for nearly thirty years in Missouri. He declared that a change in administration should be brought about, as too long a time in office bred corruption. To prove this assertion, he cited to his audience the State of Illinois, before the Democrats had cleaned out the Republican machine, where the political corruption was of such a nature, that it was impossible to exaggerate its rottenness. The Illinois Republican Legislature had done things that would bring a blush of shame to any honest man. Flory charged the Democratic administration in Missouri as responsible for the wretched condition of the laboring man. In closing, he bid for votes on the grounds that he belonged to a labor union, and showed his card of membership.

It was then Dockery's turn to bid for the favor of the men, who (as the reporters put it) "follow the teachings of God, and earn their living."

He told them he belonged to no labor union; but he had a *record* they could study. He was not posing as the champion of any class. On the contrary, what he should do, if elected governo , would be to "unite labor and capital, promote legislation that tends to further the best interests of *both*, giving to each its due and equal rights."

These words prove the politician Dockery, either a knave or an ignoramus. Sincere, honest men know that to refer to the rights of monopoly is an insult to the workers.

We know that Capital and Labor stand today in the relation of master and slave; that the wage earners have no legal right to produce or exercise their handicraft, until permission is received from those individuals who control the land, the mines, the factories, the great lines of transportation, communication, etc. Then what is Labor but a slave, a chained giant, when there are legal restrictions compelling men to depend upon the self-interest of a few of their fellows for work and bread?

Scotland's great poet, Robert Burns, long years ago pointed out the sorrow and misery of man who

> "Must beg a brother of the earth
> To give him leave to toil,"

and called the world to witness how,

> "His Lordly fellow worm
> The poor petition spurns;
> Unmindful though a weeping wife,
> And helpless offspring mourns"

The tender heart of Burns is silent dust; but the false economic system, that wrung burning words of protest and compassion from him, still lives and flourishes, is still lauded and patched and prayed for by politician and priest, as it was in the days of the plowboy poet.

When men speak of promoting the best interests of organized capital, of organized labor, of reconciling the differences between them, they are either ignorant themselves or knowingly take advantage of the ignorance of the exploited class.

The difference between capital and labor is this: In every avenue of employment, Labor does all the work, runs all the work, pays all the expenses, which includes house rent, board and clothes of the cheapest and poorest kind for himself. The surplus over all this goes to the capitalist, and is called profit. The capitalist does this; he gives men *leave to toil* on the above described conditions; nothing more. Does any one ask, how the capitalist became invested with the right to levy tribute on thousands of men? I will answer, his right is just as sacred, just as inviolate from nature's standpoint, as the divine right of kings to rule and levy tribute on nations of people. When men learn to trace the source of these rights, when they lose all respect for the law or the majesty of the king, these rights will be as shadows. Every capitalist is a king, in so far as he controls natural resources. The laborer is his subject, subject to his will or else to lose his job. Then how foolish to talk of promoting the interests of both. The only way to promote the interests of Labor is for the laborer to take possession of the full fruits of his labor. This means the destruction of the capitalist, his utter annihilation.

On the other hand, the interests of the capitalists and their very existence, depend upon extorting from Labor all but a bare existence, to force competition among wage slaves, which will enable them to hire the cheapest labor. Every employer knows that the more dependent his employes are, the more faithful will be their work. When a laboring man's family is next door to starvation, the more competent he is "to carry a message to Garcia," for his master the capitalist.

Through all time, there has been unceasing war between the class who, through fraud or superior mental cunning, have managed to monopolize the earth in one form or the other, and the class who have been excluded from all, except the right to toil for their benefit. In spite of it all, politicians like Dockery, and men of God like Talmage, strive to convince the lambs of Labor that they may live in brotherly contact with the lion, Capital, and not be devoured.

Great is the credulity of the people; but let us hope there are limits, and that Labor Day will not always be disgraced by political pimps, prostitutes and beggars of votes like Roosevelt, Bryan, Dockery and Flory. May their tribe decrease. KATE AUSTIN.

A CRITICISM.

"Unite! Be Free."

O! Comrade Morton, that is my desire. Your forefathers and mine co-operated to sustain the men who signed the Declaration of Independence.

Now you declare that there is no difference between the men who would annul that declaration, and those who would vote to uphold it. The early Abolitionist was a non-resistant and political cipher; but it was voting and fighting that freed the chattel slave. I have no apology to offer for voting and fighting to free the wage slave. I am not slave enough to either fear or worship government. I want the government by consent that our fathers fought for, not government by brute force. It is not the steel's fault that we make a sword out of it, instead of a pruning hook.

I do not think the Anarchists are consistent, when they denounce those who believe in government by consent. I do not believe it possible to run a railroad without a train dispatcher or a ship without a captain. When I go aboard ship, a natural condition compels me to abrogate a part of my individuality. But this does not give the captain a right to see my marriage certificate, or make me an advocate of force. I have heard self-styled Anarchists say the public had no right to run a railroad, through an individual's garden patch. They were going back to Morris' stage coach. I wondered what they would do with the "god" who fenced up the road. The Anarchist who would have a pantheon of human gods on earth, would raise a worse bedlam than the followers of spiritual gods have. Yet no just public would attempt to coerce the individual or group that wants to live apart from their fellows. Half of our tyrants would be fighting for essential freedom, I believe, if there was some method to the radical movement. For one I'm going to vote against the empire, and for the Chicago platform. Altgelds "Anarchy" is good enough for me at this stage of the game. A FRIEND.

COMMENT.

Our friend voices the sentiments of many well-intentioned reformers, who will show their "practical" sense in November, by voting for Bryan, Debs, Maloney, Barker, Woolley, or Ellis. The reason why Anarchists cannot vote for any of these should be plain enough. They simply do not represent our principles, and therefore are only theoretically to be preferred to McKinley, Caffery, or Leonard. Imperialism is indeed a monstrous thing: but it is only the capstone, and not the corner-stone of commercial slavery. Bryan is strongly opposed to striking any fundamental blow at the wage-system. He dared not even open his mouth in denounciation of the Idaho bull-pen. What real hope is there from such a man, with only a few milk and water palliatives to propose? As for the others, from the United Christian Party, the most tyrannical, to the Union Reform Party, the least tyrannical, each one is based on a principle which Anarchists utterly repudiate. What we claim as absolutely belonging to us, we decline to submit to the verdict of a chance majority. We are not soft enough to expect politicians to sign a voluntary abdication of their power. We know the breed too well. No, friend, it is time that somebody stood firmly for what is fundamental, and refused to trade human rights for political promises. We have been fooled often enough, and are done with it. The business of the Anarchist is to supply intelligence. As long as the people are ignorant, voting will not help them. It will only put the chains tighter about their limbs, by lifting a few clever leaders to power. When they cease to be ignorant, they will not need the clumsy device of the ballot. A free people will have sense enough to look after the common need, since the very selfishness of each individual will be enlisted on the side of progress. However, if our friend really sees hope for liberty in the party of millionaire boss Jones, Croker, Hill, Steunenberg, the silver mining kings, and the southern lynchers and negro disfranchisers, his disillusionment must come from experience.

THE SUNDAY QUESTION.

Why should anyone be compelled to be, or not to be vaccinated? Why should anyone be compelled to employ or not to employ any special kind of healer? Why should anyone be compelled to keep or not to keep Sunday in any special way? Because some people prefer one way, and think it is the only right way, why should people who do not think so, be compelled to keep Sunday as these people prefer, instead of as they themselves prefer?

Is it consistent to say that men have equal rights, and then to declare that one man or body of men have a right to compel another? What law of compulsion is just, except the law that compels one man not to compel another?

The man who likes a quiet Sunday, and the man who likes a noisy Sunday, have equal rights to enjoy the day after their own desire; but in order for each to do this, neither must interfere with the other. The man who likes a quiet Sunday must not interfere with his neighbor's noise, to secure it; and the man who likes a noisy Sunday must not interfere with his neighbor's noise, in order to enjoy himself. Now the great question is, how is this to be accomplished? The natural way would be for people of like tastes to live near each other; but as things are, people do not have their choice, but must live where they can, and may have most uncongenial neighbors. Then how is each to enjoy his Sunday in his own way? The noisy man can enjoy his Sunday without any interference from his quiet neighbor; because quiet does not interfere with noise; but noise does interfere with quiet; and how is the quiet man at the same time to enjoy his Sunday? Either the quiet man or the noisy man must take himself away to a place to his mind. If they cannot do that, what else remains but to take turns keeping it in their own way?

Then there is the question of Sunday work; it is easy enough to settle for people who can take a holiday any day in the week, but for those who work six days there is only the seventh for a holiday. It is rather cruel and unjust for the privileged class to say these working people should have no holiday; they should work six days and go to work on the seventh. If they take the seventh day for a holiday, then some of them must work in order to give the others a good time; cars must run, lunch rooms and places of amusement be open. There seems no way to settle this, but to take another day to give those who work Sunday a holiday.

Sunday should be a day of rest from ordinary occupations, and all left free to enjoy it as they please, provided they do not interfere with each other. Disturbances and disorder should come under another head than Sabbath violation; it should be subject to the same laws as other days. It makes no difference whether we call Sunday the first day or the seventh day; but it makes much difference whether we observe *any* day for rest. No machine will run as well or last as long, if run continually, as it will, if it has periods of rest. This is more important for the human body than any other mechanism. Also the mind needs the change as much as the body, and relief from care.

If we think our way of keeping our rest day is better than our neighbor's, let us tell him of the advantages of our way; but let us not attempt to persuade him, much less compel him. What right has one man to say that his method of keeping Sunday is the only right one, and all men should be compelled to keep it in his way? Other ways seem better to others.

Again, it is more convenient for business, and also for recreation, if there is a general observance of work days and rest days; but if there is a division, each should be left to keep whatever day they choose. Some people have an idea that it makes a great difference to the Lord which day of the week they keep in remembrance of him; let them alone; they have as much right to their convictions as you. If they wish to keep Sunday or Saturday, or any other day, why should they not have the liberty to do so?

However, if one goes into a community where a certain order of life exists, he should not violate its order; if he does not like their way of life, let him go elsewhere; the world is wide.

The Sunday paper is the only thing that does not need considering; enough reading can be prepared for Sunday any day in the week, and the work connected with that, cleared from the rest day.

The Sunday question is a great question in this country, on account of the many nationalities with their various beliefs, and also the various beliefs of our own people. There is no justice in one body of people making laws to compel all others to keep Sunday according to their belief. MABEL GIFFORD.

Literature.

Things as They Are. By Bolton Hall. Boston, Mass., Small, Maynard & Co. Price $1.25.

The author is well known to radicals of all schools. The son of a distinguished Presbyterian minister, he has broken loose from the theological traces, and is an earnest battler for social justice. The essays and parables in this book grapple fearlessly with social and economic questions, treating them largely from an ethical standpoint. Mr. Hall's striking and pungent style lends interest to all he writes, whether his conclusions are accepted or not.

For San Francisco.

The Socialist Maenerchor gives a large concert and ball, October 14, 8 P. M., at Eintracht Hall, cor. 12th and Folsom. Admission 25 cents. Ladies free.

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CHORDS.

The quarrel between Justices J. G. Quinn and Larue, of Alameda county, has been settled; and each will now divide the fees received from wholesale arrests under the tramp law of men and boys seeking honest employment. It is estimated that since the boycott on Justice Quinn by the constables, lasting two months, he has lost the fees on 200 arrests at $3 each. Presumably, nine-tenths of these are alleged tramp cases, and as the constables also reap a large harvest from the same source, and as there are other justices in Alameda county, it may be safely estimated that the combined harpies rob their victims in that county alone of thousands of dollars a month.—San Francisco Star.

When a Democrat tells you that his party is going to smash the trusts, just ask him how it is going to be done; and then see him balk. Ask him if the Democrats have smashed the trusts in Texas, and who the smashers are; and he will look at you, as though he had just taken an ice cold bath.—Farmers' Review.

JEALOUS OF HIS PREROGATIVE.—Minister (to elder): "What do you mean by using such language? Are you the pastor of this flock, or am I?"

Elder: "I know I am not the pastor."

Minister: "Very well, then; if you are not the minister, why do you talk like an idiot?"—Truth Seeker.

The many toilers produce wealth which a few idlers appropriate. Then because the few cannot consume their booty, we are told that there is an overproduction, although the many are in dire need of these very goods.—Justice.

John D. Rockefeller is a victim of indigestion, and cannot eat heartily. His case is about as pitiful as that of some of his victims, who have voracious appetites, but cannot get enough to eat.—Citizen and Country.

A great many of our American patriots (?) hate Aguinaldo, because he is alleged to have taken a bribe. Evidently our patriots want all the bribes that are floating around.—The New Light.

A full dinner pail is considered "prosperity" for the workers; but the same thing wouldn't do for the trust owners. They would rebel against "law and order."—The Toiler.

You cannot help a people who are not free. Make the American people free, so that they can help themselves; and they will need no other help.—National New Era.

It is unjust to say that those who fall on the battle field are heroes; and that those who fall on the field of industry are hoboes.—The Labor World.

A ROCHDALER'S REPLY.

In your issue of September 30, under the heading "Can Rochdalers Answer This?" O. A. Rice makes some strictures on the Rochdale system of cooperation, which he appeared to think were quite conclusive. It is my opinion that his criticisms are not well founded, and can be easily answered.

He says, first, that "the Rochdale movement in England has met with much success *as a movement.*" Yes, and the fact that so large a number of the working classes are pleased with it, in this age of industrial discontent, is strong presumptive proof that it is a "movement" that is moving in the right direction.

2. "Still," he says, "it is only a profit-sharing business scheme, and as such intensifies business competition."

The Rochdale system cannot properly be called a "profit-sharing scheme." Its main object is to prevent others from making profit out of them, by retaining among themselves what otherwise goes to the profit-monger. It may not do the perfect thing to start with; but shall we do the best we can, or do nothing?

Can it be true that for the working people to seek to prevent their small earnings from being taken from them by the profit monger, is to intensify the evils of competition? It cannot be so, except in the eyes of one who is overanxious to have the people "go his way."

3. "It drives the small dealer out of business, thus compelling him to join the army of the wage workers." Is the "small dealer" to be a permanent fixture in Mr. Rice's ideal system? And does he not know that the "small dealer's" doom is sealed anyway, and by much harsher methods than those of the Rochdale system? Does he not know that the Rochdale system receives all who desire to share its benefits, and on the easiest terms; that its power to *displace* implies its power to *replace;* and that it actually does replace under better conditions? Does Mr. Rice want to see people "small dealers," rather than cooperative workers.?

4 "No system of competition can teach freedom."

The Rochdale system cannot be considered competitive, except in its relation to those who refuse to cooperate.

Is the Rochdale movement to be condemned, because it "competes" with those who insist on maintaining a false system?

The Rochdale ideals and sentiments are right, and their methods are as good as can be put into practice now; meanwhile they are disbursing a vast educational fund every year, and as fast as can be, raising their vast membership to higher and still higher planes of thought and action. J. S. CLARK,

Organizer of the San Francisco Rochdale Co. Room 325, Parrott Bldg.

The Letter-Box.

T. G., Bennett, Pa —We do not know the price of "The Universal Illusion of Free Will and Criminal Responsibility," but have written to find out. We will inform you when we learn it.

R. E., Jersey City, N J.—Your proposition was readily accepted. It is a capital plan to put our literature before the miners, just at this time.

S. S., Healdsburg, Cal.—We note that you bear personal testimony to the good result of the Rochdale system, from your own experience, both in this country and in England. Otherwise, your article contains the same arguments as those of Mr. Clark, which we are publishing.

D. A. N., Columbus, O.—Fair criticisms are always welcome. It is often hard for those who feel strongly to preserve moderation in expression, and allowance must be made for personal idiosyncracies Glad to hear from you.

J. A. E., Cripple Creek, Col.—Mr. Brinkerhoff starts his defence of Tuckerism in Discontent by adopting the name Commercial Anarchism. If Communists are sometimes severe in debate, they are only following the example set by Tucker, who began his career by coolly reading out of the Anarchist movement, in defiance of history, common sense, and philosophy, all who did not belong to his own school of economics. When in this very letter, you describe the Communist doctrine as "to every lazy lout according to his needs, regardless of his deeds" you must waive the right to complain that Communists are chief sinners, in the matter of "sneers" at the doctrines of opponents. We are indeed for liberty first, and as a basis for all else; but, believing that absolutely free conditions must bring up in Communism as a necessity for the maintenance of liberty, we propose to defend our position against all comers.

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Discontent, Mother of Progress. A weekly advocate of Anarchism. Price 50 cents per year. Address: Discontent, Home, Wash.

Freie Arbeiter-Stimme, a Jewish weekly of 16 pages, an advocate of Anarchist Communism, appears regularly at 181 Madison St., New York City. Price, $1.50 per year.

Freedom, monthly journal of Anarchist-Communism. Address: 7, Lambs Conduit Street London, W. C. England. Price 40 cents pe year, postpaid. Order from Free Society.

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Lucifer, the Light-Bearer. Weekly eight pages, $1 per year. This paper gives light on the Sex Question, Humanity's greatest need For Sample copies write to M. Harman, 507 Carroll ave. Chicago, Ill.

The Free Commune. A magazine of Libertarian Thought. Published Quarterly by The Leeds Free Communist Group. Address: W. MacQueen, 79 Markham Ave., Harehills, Leeds, England

Vaccination, a journal of health, published monthly for the Anti-Vaccination Society of America. Tells the truth about vaccination. 1328 North 12th St., Terre Haute, Ind. Sample copy free.

Die Freie Gesellschaft, a Jewish monthly, containing 48 pages of original matter, an advocate of Anarchist-Communism, has been revived and will appear regularly. Wel known writers, such as Dr. Solotaroff, Dr. Maryson, Leontieff, Katz, Ginsberg, J. Gordin, and others will be the principal contributors. Price $1 per year. Single copies 10 cents. Address: 12 Jefferson St, New York, N Y.

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